

ROBERT E. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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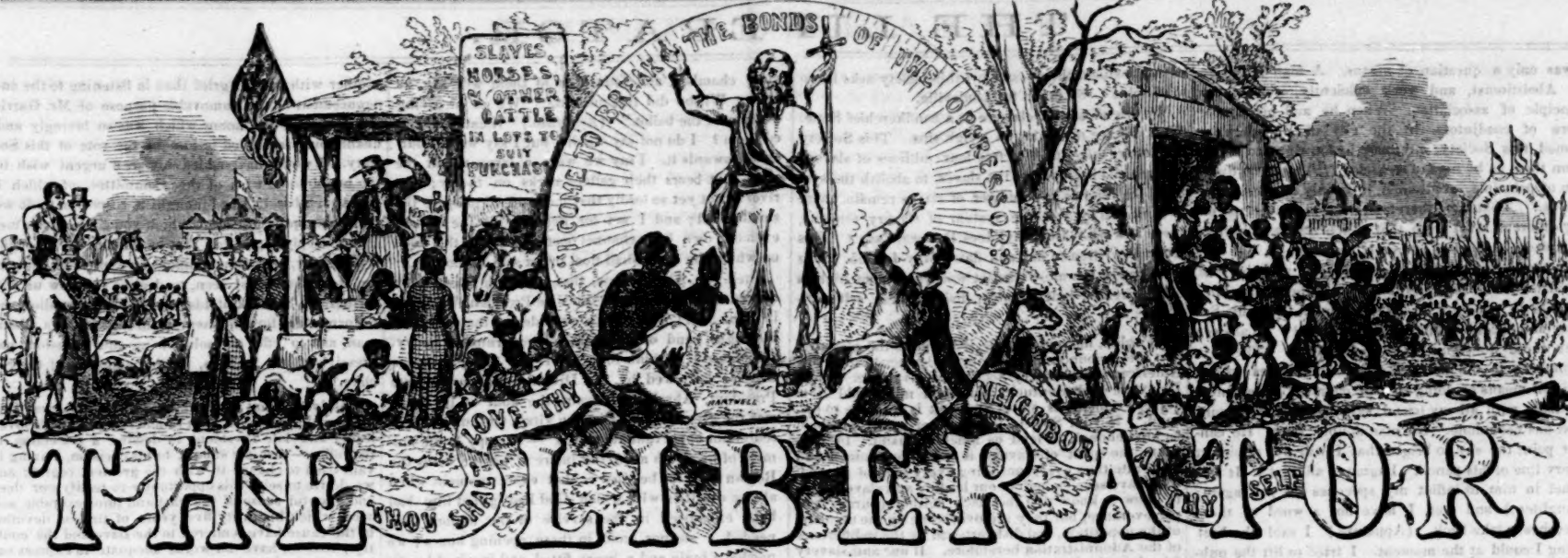
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—WILLIAM PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1791.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, as far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the Army, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the claim of slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to do what it will, and must carry it out, according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and WARFARE TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are met in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

The Liberator.

THIRTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(Photographically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.)

(CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.)

SAMUEL MAY, JR.—I do not mean to take up any more time with a speech, but simply to offer a resolution, as an amendment to that of Mr. Garrison, or for the acceptance of the Business Committee, or to be on the table. Friends around me, who agree with me in the sentiment of the resolution, desire that it should be offered for the action of the Society.

Resolved, That, in view of the adoption by Congress of the Amendment to the Constitution, forever prohibiting slavery in the United States; of the ratification already of nearly the necessary number of States, and of the moral certainty of soon obtaining a sufficient remainder; the Society recognizes the law of the land, to declare this Society dissolved; its officers are hereby authorized and instructed, whenever the Constitutional Anti-Slavery Amendment is fully adopted, and made the law of the land, to declare this Society dissolved, in view of the accomplishment of the end to which it was pledged.

OLIVER JOHNSON seconded the resolution as a substitute.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The death-bed is always an interesting and solemn occasion. It is doubly so when the individual about to take his departure is not only a warm personal friend, but has completed but half his days, and his departure will be a heavy public calamity. Such, it seems to me, are our circumstances on this occasion. We are considering whether this Society shall still live, or whether its existence shall be terminated—not by any act of an overruling Providence, but by our own direct, intentional agency. I feel that it is the most solemn occasion on which I ever stood before an anti-slavery audience; for on the decision of this question, it seems to me, hinges, to a very great extent, the future of our country.

What is the question before us, sir? It is whether this American Anti-Slavery Society, which has fought its hardest battle for the last thirty-odd years, and, as we think, a successful one, bringing about, as we think, a very great degree, the present hopeful and promising condition of our country, shall now, from the stage, and give up the work entirely to other hands, or whether it shall go on and continue to wage this war with slavery until the last foe shall be broken, and its object shall be completely and perfectly achieved. Sir, if we disband to-day, the community, not only on this continent, but on the other, will wish to know why we disband, and they will demand the reason why we have terminated the existence of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and we shall be obliged to give that reason. What is the reason? What reason are we prepared to assign? Can be more or one of two that will be satisfactory. The first, that the work which we organized to accomplish has been done, completely—that there is nothing more for us to do, and, therefore, we should disband; the other satisfactory reason is, that though the work remains incomplete, the machinery of this organization is not the best possible with which to accomplish the work, and, therefore, we should disband this organization, and create another to take its place. Now, are we prepared to give either of these reasons, and to substantiate it? Is our work done? Mr. Chairman, what did we organize to do? Our Constitution and Declaration of Sentiments answer that question; and by consulting these, we find that the work was two-fold—first, the abolition of slavery; secondly, the elevation of the colored people to an equality with the Whites, and to the full enjoyment of all their social, civil and political rights and privileges. That was our work, and that second part of our work was introduced into a separate and distinct article of our Constitution. Shall I read it to you?

Art. 3. This Society shall single out the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement; and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the Whites of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, encourage the oppressed in vindictive rights by resorting to physical force.

Then, in the concluding paragraph of the Declaration of Sentiments, they say:

"Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, we hereby affirm our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will combat in us, in fact, consistently with this Declaration, all the principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live or witness the triumph of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, or perish ourselves as martyrs in its great, benevolent and holy cause."

Now, Mr. Chairman, is that work done? Are the colored people in this country to-day, in the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges equally with the Whites? Answer me, ye who can! Is there any public prejudice existing throughout the whole country to-day, that puts its heel upon the negro, and hinders him from the full enjoyment of his rights? And have you not at the head of the Government, to-day, a man who has publicly declared that he would sink the whole African race into a thousand fathoms deep to save this Union?

Mr. MAY—No.

Mr. FOSTER—You have, unless the press betrays the President.

Mr. FOSTER—What paper has this news?

Mr. MAY—I don't care what paper has it.

Mr. FOSTER—I wish to say, that that statement having been made public, I took a great deal of pains to ascertain, by writing to Washington, whether that was the best information I could get, coming from Dr. Wm. Elder, of Pennsylvania, through the Rev. Mr. Channing, President Johnson and something of that kind about four years ago, and was then considered as going considerably in advance, because he

said he was ready to give the colored people entire emancipation as an alternative.

OLIVER JOHNSON—I will also state, that the Washington correspondent of the Standard, to whom I wrote on the subject, told me he had consulted the intimate friends of President Johnson, who pronounced it a slander, (applause)—declaring that he had never, at any time, uttered any such language.

Mr. FOSTER—I would suggest to our friends that their testimony is not admissible on this occasion.

Mr. JOHNSON—It is as good as that of any anonymous correspondent.

Mr. FOSTER—This statement is not anonymous. I would suggest to our friends that if they desire to know the truth in this matter, the proper party to be applied to is the person making the charge, not persons who know nothing about it. Why does not our friend Mr. May, call on the Commonwealth to set whether it is true or not? That is the way to get at the facts. If the Commonwealth has belied the President, let it be arranged as a false witness. I hold that to be a crime next to the crime committed by Booth.

Mr. PHILLIPS—Mr. President, the correspondent from whose letter that statement is taken is one of the best and most reliable men in the country—Mr. Wm. G. Sneath. The letter was written for the purpose of bearing eulogistic testimony to President Johnson, with no intention to disparage him. The correspondent was merely stating the readiness of the President to give the suffrage to the negro, if necessary. His testimony is as good as that of any other individual in the United States until it is disproved. A gentleman who stands here says he has, within two years, heard the President make exactly the same remark in Philadelphia. There is nothing at all singular in it. The same sort of remark was uttered by President Lincoln himself, but he had not the merit of doing so, as President Johnson did, when somebody cried out in the crowd, "Free them, Governor, and let them vote." "I would do that, willingly," President Johnson was so far ahead; and when Mr. Sneath mentioned the circumstance, he mentioned it to praise, not to disparage the President; and knowing him as I do, personally, as a reliable man, and friendly to President Johnson, I certainly shall not allow, on this platform, that the negative testimony of men who say they never heard the language is to weigh against him, who says he did.

Mr. JOHNSON—I really desire to know the truth of this matter. When did President Johnson make that speech? Does Mr. Sneath mean to be understood that that speech was made two years ago, or since the inauguration of Mr. Johnson as Vice President?

Mr. PHILLIPS—This statement which Mr. Foster has quoted I presume he takes from a recent speech of mine in regard to the death of President Lincoln. I then said, in honor of the present President, that the only word he was known to have uttered on the subject of negro suffrage was contained in a letter of this correspondent; and I read as follows:

"The Vice President was holding forth very eloquently in front of Admiral Lee's dwelling, just in front of the War Office in Washington. He said he was willing to send every negro in the country to Africa to save the Union. Nay, he was willing to cut Africa loose from Asia, and sink the whole African race ten thousand fathoms deep to effect this object. A loud voice sang out in the crowd, 'Let the negro stay where he is, Governor, and give him the ballot, and the Union will be safe forever!' And I am ready to do that too!" (loud applause.) shouted the speaker, with intense energy, whereas he got three times three for the noble sentiment. I witnessed this scene, and was pleased to hear our Vice President take this high ground; for up to this point most nations which advance, or there will be no peace, no rest, no prosperity, no blessing, for our suffering and distracted country."

I did not state, Mr. Sneath does not state in his letter when he uttered it. ("Hear hear.") He states where he uttered it—in front of the War Department in Washington, and that he heard him. [At this point Mr. Phillips handed Mr. Phillips the first part of the letter referred to, and after reading it, Mr. P. said:]—Yes, putting the whole letter together, I think he did. Mr. P. read the letter, by which it appears that the speech was made immediately after the fall of Richmond. Is that speech to the credit of the President? Have you many public men who have said as much? I did not notice the time when he uttered this remark. I did not care when it was uttered. I wanted a word from him, and I got it. He said he was willing to give the black man the suffrage. I intend there is nothing in the paragraph which shows any such malignity towards the President as to detract from the weight of the testimony. Until some one comes upon this platform and says, "There was no such meeting, and no such speech, I am competent to affirm it," and no man has a right, with the initials of that correspondent's name at the end of the letter, to affirm that it is a lie.

Mr. FOSTER—I would ask this audience, candidly, to point out the difference, if they can, between the spirit of this speech and the spirit of the Dred Scott decision. What was that decision? It was, that "the negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect." What is this speech? Mr. Johnson says he would sink the whole negro race ten thousand fathoms deep—for what? To save a government for the white man. Now, does he recognize in the negro any rights which he is "bound to respect"? For what does this Union mean but a government for the whites? I can put no other interpretation on it. And this is the spirit of the manifestations we see all over the country to-day.

A VOICE—Perhaps he would sink the whole rebel race for the same purpose.

Mr. FOSTER—Of course he would. He would sacrifice the rights of millions of men to save the government.

Mr. DOUGLASS—Will you allow me suggest, that the President only meant that he preferred the white race and the Union to the black race, etc.? It was only a rhetorical flourish.

Mr. FOSTER—Well, Mr. Chairman, I hope there was more rhetoric than principle in it; for I do think the sentiment, if it is to be interpreted literally, horrible beyond conception; I am not willing to think we have a man with that spirit at the head of the government. I had thought better of him, and still think

better of him. But, Mr. Chairman, while we have a public sentiment that will tolerate such expression, it seems to me that it is no time for this Society to disband. What did we organize to do? Why, if I understand it, it was simply and solely to write the law of justice on the American heart. We discarded the idea of forcible emancipation, such as we have to-day. We have precluded ourselves, by our Constitution, from taking any part in such emancipation. We declared that we would never countenance the slaves in resorting to physical violence to defend their rights. But we have none other than an emancipation effected by physical violence to-day. The Southern States have not voluntarily relinquished their grasp on the slave. It is a forced emancipation, and the moment the force is withdrawn, the crime will be repeated. It seems to me that the only hope for the negro is in imprinting the law of justice upon the American heart. That is the only work which, as a Society, we have to do. When that is done, we may disband, but not till then. When that is done, there will be no negro cars, there will be no disfranchisement of men on account of color, no hooting after black men when they walk in arm with white men through your streets—all these things will disappear, and we shall not know that there are any colored people in the community; the idea will not present itself to any man that there is any difference of color. When that time comes, as it seems to me, it will be proper for us to disband, but not until then.

Now comes the question, is ours the best kind of organization to accomplish this work? Sir, if we have, as we claim, achieved so glorious a victory when the whole community was against us by this kind of machinery, can we not hope speedily to accomplish the little work that remains to be done by the same machinery? It seems to me that this old and time-approved organization had better be retained, rather than to embark in something new and untried. If we disband to-day, what kind of an organization will you give us as a substitute? One essentially the same as the one we have to-day? One essentially the same as the one we have to-day? There is nothing like it in the country, nor probably in the world. What is its peculiarity? It has a free platform, and it is the only free platform in the country. Your Freedmen's Aid Associations have no free platforms. This is the only platform in the country where freedom of speech is tolerated and allowed, where all men meet as equals, where every man is a man, and nobody is more. Tell me your Freedmen's Aid Associations! Well, I go there, and what am I? You go there, and what are you? You have no right of speech there. No matter what thoughts are burning in your bosom, you cannot give them utterance. They have restricted platforms; invited speakers make the speeches, give the counsel—the working men are nobodies. The leading men—your ministers, your lawyers, your educated men, your politicians—they shape and control everything. What were you told here yesterday in regard to the meeting of the newly-formed Freedmen's Association? Why, that in addition to the speakers, Judge Such-a-one would be on the platform—therefore you should go to the meeting, and contribute liberally; and Spurge Such-a-one would be on the platform—therefore you should believe in the Society and help it. Now, Mr. Chairman, we have repudiated all that kind of thing from the outset. We care not who is on the platform—whether it is a Major, a Squire, a Doctor, or who it is—we ask you to come to our meetings because there is something to be said there worthy to be said upon the platform. We ask you to come to our meetings because free speech, the basis of all freedom, is tolerated; because a meeting of this Society is a democracy, pure and unadulterated, a specimen of what the whole country ought to be, in all its departments—civil, social, political and religious. We set ourselves the example of freedom to our countrymen, and ask them to follow it, and proclaim liberty such as ours "throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Now, if any of our friends are sick of a free platform, if they want an organization controlled by individual men of distinguished position in the community, let them go off from us, and organize a Society to their own taste. Sir, I shall not go with them. I claim the privilege, as an old member of this Society, of remaining. Inasmuch as no one can carry anything away by its dissolution, as there are no effects to be divided among its members, I only claim that they shall go out from us, and leave us with the machinery that can be of no possible use to them. If they cannot work with us, let them withdraw, and go to work outside. If they cannot work with us, we will give them the hand of cooperation in other organizations, and bid them God speed in whatever channel they may choose to work. We simply ask them not to embarrass us.

Sir, I am sorry to have any of our old and tried friends leave us. It grieves me to my very heart that he who has stood first and foremost in this fight should retire before the battle is ended, before the last foe is broken. Now, the proposition is made, by others, to disband when the Constitutional Amendment is adopted. Sir, will that secure the liberty of the negro? The Constitution has always guaranteed the freedom of the black man at the North, but has he been protected? On the contrary, has not man after man been sold into Southern slavery, with the sigs of the Constitution over his head, and has not the Federal Government been powerless to protect him? Have not even your own white men of the North been utterly unable to claim their constitutional protection in the South, and secure it? And shall we give up four millions of slaves into the hands of their enemies, with no protection but simply a parchment Constitution? You can at best make the Constitution, as many of us believe it has always been, thoroughly and radically anti-slavery. I don't care a straw about the Amendment to the Constitution. It was as anti-slavery as you could make it before you touched it. Every right which it guarantees to you or me, or to the tallest white man on this continent, it guarantees to the humblest slave.

Mr. Chairman, I hope and pray that we shall consider deliberately this question, before we take the step, which can never be retraced, of dissolving this Society, while the slave is still in his chains, and the negro of the North is under the heel of the bitter prejudice which exists against him.

ANNA DICKINSON—Mr. Chairman, I recognize the fact, that as there are some books that need no preface, so there are some speeches that need no introduction. Mine is not one of these. Since I have been sitting here, listening to this discussion this morning, I have almost wished that I had added to my life thirty years, and that I could say of those thirty years that they had been devoted to this cause—as you, sir, and others here can say—that I might have the right to say what is on my lips to utter. I speak it but by your courtesy—by the courtesy of men and women who differ from me in their belief on this point—of men and women who have done their duty through all these years of time. I can only say, that if the years had been mine, I think they would have been devoted.

I say this much to plead my right, or, rather, to beg the privilege of saying this: that I hope, as an American woman who has given five years of earnest and constant labor to this cause, whose highest boast it is that her first speech, so to be called, was made on the Garrisonian abolition platform, that this Society, on whose platform she stood then, on whose platform she stands now, will never be dissolved until there is no longer reason for me or for any one else to stand up and demand the rights of any human being in this country. (Loud applause.) If I understand correctly, this Society was formed, not simply to give freedom to the black man, not simply to strike off the chains and manacles of the slave, but as a great public educator, to teach the nation justice and the rights of man. Has this nation so learned? Has this work been accomplished? I know not. So long as one can see a General, the second in command of our great armies of the Union, and so-called, of freedom, standing up deliberately in his lot and place, facing a broken traitor's army—yielding to it—flinging aside the game of four years of battle and blood—trampling under foot all for which this war has been waged—virtually recognizing every traitor government in every Southern State—admitting that slavery may become more established—and so long as there is such a state of public sentiment in this country as will lead the people to throw up their caps and hurrah when the name of Sherman is mentioned—so long as there is a public sentiment that will recognize this man as a good officer, a worthy citizen, a gallant soldier—so long as such a state of affairs as this exists, the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as an educator, has not been accomplished. (Applause.)

The argument has been urged here that this Society can now stand aside; that this new organization, known as the Freedmen's Association, will take its place. In reply to that, I repeat, in the first place, the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society has not been accomplished; the last slave does not stand free; and I do not believe (as has been well put this morning) in striking the banner of Abolition until the banner of Slavery is trailed in the dust. But beyond this, if this assertion that these Freedmen's Associations will take care of this thing, and that this Society can disband, be true, can its members go out to these other associations, one after another, and do their work there, cooperating with these new workers? Sir, if these new workers stood as earnest, as willing, as eager, to do justice to the black man as you and those who have worked with you for thirty years, they would come up to your platform, not ask you to go down to theirs. (Enthusiastic applause.) And beyond that, it has been asserted here that these men, represented by the presiding officer of the meeting last night, could do your work, and that you stood ready to co-operate with them. Sir, three months ago, I stood facing an audience in the city of Baltimore, an audience composed of Union men—the staunchest and firmest and truest, they told me, they had in that city. Yet among them not a black face was to be seen! In the Maryland Institute, devoted to free speech, in the Maryland Institute, in which every Union speech, so called, has been made, not a black man could stand to plead his case; nay, not a black man could sit to listen to my pleading. In addition to this, when, facing this audience of Union men—this audience, composing the Freedmen's Association, and the like—this audience among whom were leading officers of the free State of Maryland—when, facing this audience, I said, simply, "I will not plead this question on the broad and everlasting ground and rock of justice; I will ask you to save yourselves, to save our country, to save our flag, to prevent rebellion and treason extending triumphantly in the future, to put the ballot in the hands that have held the bayonet, fighting for your homes"—there was not a single response among those thousands of people present. And in addition, these men, gathering about me afterwards, said I had gone altogether too far; I had said altogether too much; they were not ready for that state of affairs yet. Sir, men who so speak are not fit to have trusted in their hands, without check, without any voice to call them to higher, the fate of these four million and a half of people. (Applause.) Nay, more, a gentleman said to me that night, standing in the ante-room of that hall, (as the conversation was a public one, with a dozen or more standing round, I can repeat the assertion.) "It is very well for you, a Northerner, a woman, and a Garrisonian Abolitionist, to come into this hall and face this audience, and make such appeals; we cannot do it; I cannot do it; I am not ready to do it, and these people are not ready to listen." That man, sir, was the presiding officer of the meeting last night at Cooper Institute. And when you think of trusting this matter in the hands of such men, remember, as wise lips than mine have said, "It is one thing to wish to be on the side of truth; another thing to wish to have truth on our side." These men desire to have truth on their side, because truth is popular, because truth is union and victory. You, sir, and those about you, have always desired to stand upon the side of truth. In the name of these four million and a half of blacks, in the name of humanity, in the name of truth, I ask you to keep your banner floating from the topmost peak and outer wall, and let those people come to it, not strike your colors and go down to fight with them on the plain beneath! (Tremendous applause.) For, as George Conning, I believe it was, well said in the British Parliament, when the proposition was under discussion to put this matter of legislation for the freed blacks in the hands of the old supporters of slavery; "while human nature remains

the same, they are not to be trusted." There is not, sir, a Union man in the South, save those who have been proscribed, hunted, torn of dogs—living the same life, fleeing from the same death, almost, as the slaves—there is not a Union man in the South save those, with the conviction that the Union means absolute equality and justice.

And now, what do I ask of you? I have trespassed upon your time already. I have spoken some words, perhaps, that may sound as if in censure. If so, I want to say that no one more than I honors every member of this Society; no matter what stand they may take, no one more than I recognizes how my work is a mine to their mountain; and yet I will say to them—ye, to the father of this Society—to the noblest and grandest man, almost, that America or any other country has produced. (Loud applause.) I will ask you, sir, (turning to Mr. Garrison, who sat in the pulpit,) because the slave knows you and not another, to stand at the head of the Society that is recognized the world over as his friend. (Great applause.) Sir, I ask that this Society, as it has stood for thirty years in the past, high above all parties and sects, so to stand in the future. And you, sir, (again turning to Mr. Garrison,) I ask you, sir, as the name that has embodied and represented all this, as the name that will stand when all party names and the names of all the politicians of your time shall have been swept aside—as the name that Humanity will stand up and call blessed—as the name that the freed-down to his children's children—I ask you, sir, to hold this standard, until God takes it out of your hands, and says, "Come up higher!" (Loud and long-continued applause.)

Mr. GARRISON—If this were a struggle about fundamental principles, it would be a grave occasion to me, and I should regard this discussion as of very considerable importance. But there is really nothing of principle at all involved in it—as it is only a question of usefulness, only a matter of opinion whether this Society has essentially consummated its mission, as originally designed—I feel perfectly indifferent as to the manner in which it shall be decided. Nothing is more clear in my own mind, nothing has ever been more clear, than that this is the fitting time to dissolve our organization, and to mingle with the millions of our fellow-countrymen in one common effort to establish justice and liberty throughout the land. (Applause.)

I cannot help noticing here a singular fact, that while the great body of the Executive Committee—to those to whom you have entrusted the management of this Society for so many years—are entirely convinced that this is the proper time to dissolve, we have those who are not members of this Society, who in some instances have been unfriendly to it, who have suddenly become greatly interested in the preservation of the Society, and disposed to come in and rescue it from dissolution.

Mr. FOSTER—They have not appeared this morning.

Mr. GARRISON—I do not know how many have appeared this morning, pro or con, as I have been absent part of the time. But I say that Mr. Foster has been a friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the sense of cooperating with it, for some time past, nor a friend of the Anti-Slavery Standard. I say, further, that Mr. Phillips has not been friendly to the Standard for a year or two past, as conducted by its present editors with the approval of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Yet the Standard is the only instrument we have left to us; and that instrument he has desired to strike down, rather than have it used as it has been since this rebellion broke out. I do not think I overstate the matter.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I think you do.

Mr. GARRISON—Then correct me.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I have thought that the management of the Standard should be changed. For the last two years, it has not represented the sentiment of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed by the resolutions of its Conventions. I would have changed its editorship; I would not have destroyed it.

Mr. GARRISON—I mean simply to say, that on the part of several of these earnest advocates of perpetuating the Society, there has not been a cooperative spirit with the Executive Committee and with the Anti-Slavery Standard; and it is, therefore, a proof that the old state of things, when we mingled together like kindred drops into one, no longer exists. We are a divided house, and it is useless to deny the fact.

In regard to the Society itself, what is its efficiency? Nothing. When did it present its last Annual Report to the public? In 1861! What agents does it send forth? None. What donations are made to its treasury? None. What means have we to continue the Society? None. The last Subscription Anniversary has been held; and that was the only source to which we could look for any pecuniary support. The Society has merely a nominal existence. Now, I am not troubled on that score, but rather filled with joy, because THE NATION has become quickened, renovated, redeemed; and the work of abolition, therefore, so far as the determined purpose of the people is concerned, is substantially accomplished. As it respects the abolition of slavery, we are no longer people. Once we stood and were obliged to stand alone, and represented about all the abolition sentiment there was in the land; now the millions of people who have voted on this question, and the States that have registered their verdict for the abolition of slavery and the amendment of the Constitution, have changed the position of this nation from darkness to light, and from the rule of slavery to the triumph of liberty.

In regard to giving the black man his political rights, it is in vain for us to say that, by keeping together as a little association, we shall be peculiar witnesses in this matter; because there are hundreds of thousands of people who are with us, and who are demanding the same thing. ("Hear hear.") Almost all the loyal presses at the North are in favor of going as far as ourselves, I believe, in this matter; and I will venture to say that, throughout the free States, you may go where you will, and you will find but very little opposition to that act of justice. My conviction, therefore, is, that as the abolition of slavery

is substantially effected, we had better dissolve this Society, and if there be need of an organization to carry forward the effort to secure the elective franchise for those who have it not, organize such an association on that basis. Nobly will object to it, and that will be doing a specific and legitimate work. But the American Anti-Slavery Society is not a Society to be kept in existence, it seems to me, after slavery has been abolished beyond all reasonable doubt.

True, the technical objection is urged that slavery still legally exists. Well, let us see how much of slavery legally exists, and how much there is in that issue. What of slavery in the District of Columbia? That, surely, does not legally exist. What of the Fugitive Slave Law? That does not exist. Any slave, held anywhere, under any form of government, on our soil, can take his liberty into his own hands, and go where he pleases, and the United States government will not molest him or make him afraid. What of the President's Proclamation of January 1, 1863? More than three million slaves were legally set free by it. What of slavery in Maryland? It does not exist. In Tennessee? It does not exist. In Missouri? It does not exist. In Louisiana? It does not exist. In Arkansas? It does not exist. In Kentucky? It does not exist, except as a rope of sand. And as for the small number of slaves in Delaware, what is Delaware against the overwhelming, irresistible and irreversible decree of this government and people that slavery shall die the death everywhere? What of the Constitutional Amendment? Twenty-one States have already adopted it. There is not another State to vote upon it that will not adopt it, whether it be a State in the Union now, or a reconstructed State. Every one of the reconstructed States must come in on the basis of abolitionism, and will vote for the Amendment. Practically, therefore, absolutely, to all intents and purposes, slavery is dead in this country; and to object to the dissolution of this Society, on merely technical grounds, in view of such facts, it seems to me, not worthy of ourselves as sensible men and women.

When the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and until four years ago, the religious bodies of our country were against us, and against the slave; they are now for us, and for the slave, and for the extermination of the slave system. The government was then against us; it is now for us. THE PEOPLE were then against us; they are now for us. Then we held up our little torch, because it was thick darkness throughout the land; but now that the heavens are all aflame, and effulgent day has succeeded murky night, we are admonished of the vast importance of keeping our little torch burning, as of old! (Loud applause.) Though abolition is now the most popular sentiment in the United States—though it pulls down and lifts up—though it is as irresistible as Niagara, in its onward course—we are earnestly and pathetically conjured not to dissolve an association which has not the means to send an agent into the field, and which has made no Annual Report since 1861!

My friend, Mr. Phillips, as it seems to me, has forgotten how he viewed the rebellion at the outset. Let me refer to a few passages in his speeches. And I will begin with a speech delivered by him when we had no emancipation proclamation—when we had no Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution, but were under the old "covenant with death." In a speech delivered at Music Hall, Boston, April 21, 1861, he then exultingly said—"For the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the Stars and Stripes." Yet, did they not symbolize, at that time, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell"?

Mr. PHILLIPS—They did.

Mr. GARRISON—Yet our friend gloried in speaking under the flag at that time!

Mr. PHILLIPS—I did.

Mr. GARRISON—But with what consistency or propriety, according to his present mode of reasoning? Further—"I welcome the tread of Massachusettsmen marshalled for war!" What! To maintain "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell!" Again—"No matter what the past has been or said; to-day—in 1861—the slave asks God for a night of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption." So do I to-day—in 1865. (Applause.) "It may have meant what you thought, or what I did. To-day—in 1861—it represents Sovereignty and Justice." Yet, though we have gone leagues ahead of 1861, in the way of securing justice and freedom for those in bondage, the tone of our friend Mr. Phillips is now anything but jubilant. I do not understand his logic or his philosophy.

Again—"The war is not aggressive, but in self-defence, and Washington has become the Thermopylae of Liberty and Justice." And yet, slavery was in Washington at that time; human beings were then bought and sold in the capital; the Fugitive Slave Law was then everywhere enforced. But Mr. Phillips at that time looked to the inevitable results of the war, and he clearly saw what it meant—freedom for all in bonds! Again—"Massachusetts blood has consecrated the pavement of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves." How prophetic! Maryland is free! When Massachusetts goes down to that Carolina fort, to put the Stars and Stripes again over its blackened walls, she will sweep from its neighborhood every institution which hazards their ever bowing again to the palmetto." That prophecy, too, has been fulfilled.

Again—"This war means one of two things—Emancipation or Disunion. Out of the smoke of the conflict there comes that—nothing else." No doubt there was—what room for doubt now? We have got emancipation, and hence there is to be no Disunion. But mark this language: "My interest in this war, simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist, is about as much gone as yours in a novel, where the hero has won the lady, and the marriage has been comfortably celebrated in the last chapter." And this in 1861! Nay, more: "I know the danger of political prophecy; but, for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent the system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow." (Applause.) Yet not a single chain had then been touched! Now we have millions rejoicing in their freedom, and the Constitution of our country unquestionably amended so as forever to ensure freedom for all on the American soil. What special need, then, of this Society as an anti-slavery instrumentality? Have we not consummated our

great object? Am I not justified in saying in 1865 that my friend Mr. Phillips said in 1861: "Exclusively as an Abolitionist, I have little more interest in this than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the bear, when she didn't care which side whipped." (Laughter.) It was in 1861, also, that he said:

"Today the question is, by the voice of the South, 'Shall Washington or Montgomery own the continent?' And the North says, 'From the Gulf to the Pole, the stars and stripes shall cover the millions of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years; and before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave.' All of you may mean it now. Our fathers did not think in 1776 of the Declaration of Independence. The Long Parliament never thought of the scaffold of Charles the First, when they entered upon the struggle; but, having begun, they made through work. It is an attribute of the Yankee blood—slow to fight, and fight once. It was a hot war, that for independence: this is a colder and the last war for LIBERTY." "There is only one thing those cannon-shot in the harbor of Charleston settled—that there never can be a compromise."

I could read a great many more passages, all affirming that this war would effect universal emancipation, and that from the Atlantic to the Pacific no human being would be left in bondage. Hence I rejoice to believe that the American Anti-Slavery Society is no longer needed to agitate for the abolition of slavery, and that whereas it was once vitally important that our testimony should be heard, because all others were dumb; now, all over the land, voices are heard as loud, as strong, as vehement, as eloquent, in favor of universal freedom, as have ever been heard on this anti-slavery platform.

My friends, let us not any longer affect superiority when we are not superior (hear, hear)—let us not assume to be better than other people, when we are not any better. (Applause, and cries of hear, hear.) When they are reiterating all that we say, and disposed to do all that we wish to have done, what more can we ask? And yet I know the desire to keep together, because of past memories and labors, is a very natural one. But let us challenge and command the respect of the nation, and of the friends of freedom throughout the world, by a wise and sensible conclusion. Of course, we are not to cease laboring in regard to whatever remains to be done; but let us work with the millions, and not exclusively as the American Anti-Slavery Society. As co-workers are everywhere found, as our voices are everywhere listened to with approbation and our sentiments cordially endorsed, let us not continue to be isolated. My friend, Mr. Phillips, says he has been used to isolation, and he thinks he can endure it some time longer. My answer is, that when one stands alone with God for truth, for liberty, for righteousness, he may glory in his isolation; but when the principle which kept him isolated has at last conquered, then to glory in isolation seems to me no evidence of courage or fidelity. (Applause.)

Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, this is no "death-bed scene" to me! There are some in our ranks who seem to grow discouraged and morbid in proportion as light abounds and victory crowns our efforts (applause); and it seems as if the hour of the triumph of universal justice is the hour for them to feel the saddest and most melancholy! We have had something said about a funeral here to-day. A funeral because Abolitionism sweeps the nation! A funeral! Nay, thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, it is a day of jubilee, and not a day to talk about funerals or death-beds! It is a resurrection from the dead, rather; it is an ascension and beatification! Slavery is in its grave, and there is no power in this nation that can ever bring it back. But if the heavens should disappear, and the earth be removed out of its place—if slavery should, by a miracle, come back—what then? We shall then have millions of supporters to rally with us for a fresh onset!

I thank you, beloved friends, who have for so many years done me the honor to make me the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I never should have accepted that post if it had been a popular one. I took it because it was unpopular; because we, as a body, were everywhere denounced, proscribed, outlawed. Today, it is popular to be President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Hence, my connection with it terminates here and now, both as a member and as its presiding officer. I bid you an affectionate adieu.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER.—Mr. Chairman: A very grave charge has been brought against me by the President of this Society, to which I feel I have a right to reply. It is known to you all that I have stood before the country as the professed friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society; that I have been prompt in my attendance at its meetings, and taken part in its operations; and yet the President tells you that through all these years, I have been the deadly enemy of the Society, seeking its destruction. I have the right to demand the retraction of this charge, or the proof to sustain it, and I do.

A great deal of importance is attached to the Constitutional Amendment. Do you know how that came to be brought about? One year ago last autumn, our earnest and devoted friend, Susan B. Anthony, who, with our friend, Elizabeth C. Stanton, had been laboring for some time in this city in order to secure the passage of such an amendment by Congress, finding her funds fast, went to the city of Boston, and met the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. After staying in Boston two or three days, I think, she came to me, with her hands hanging down, and her heart utterly discouraged. She said she could get no word of sympathy or cooperation in Boston, and was going back to New York to close her office and give up in despair. I felt very sad, resolved the matter over in my mind, and finally said to her, the next day, "Susan, I see one ray of light. By the sacrifice of my own personal feelings, I think I can render you some assistance to go on with your work, and have resolved to make the sacrifice." Immediately I left my business—which was then pressing—started for Boston, went to the house of our President, William Lloyd Garrison, and in the most earnest manner in my power besought him to lend his influence to this movement. I then went to other members of the Executive Committee, and asked their cooperation, and pledged myself to use my utmost influence with the Hovey Trust Committee, of which I was a member, to secure the appropriation of \$3,000 to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be expended by a Committee of that Society in cooperation with a Committee of the Hovey Trust Committee, for the purpose of securing this great Amendment to the Constitution. And I was happily successful in that undertaking. Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips accepted the proposition, and the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society at last accepted it; although, Mr. Chairman, one member of that Committee, who had always been a trusted friend of this Society, said in that Committee, in my hearing, that she would throw that money into the sea, before she would use it to send out agents to secure this Amendment to the Constitution; and another member said he would sooner use the money to procure colored recruits. There is a specimen of my hostility to this Society.

Mr. Garrison says I have refused contributions to the funds of the Society. The contributions I have refused were not of my own money, but money entrusted to me by my beloved friend, Charles F. Hovey, to be expended in my best judgment; and my judgment was, that it should be expended in this great work of securing the Constitutional Amendment. Mr. Garrison says I have not contributed of my own funds; and he gives you the reason. He tells you the Society has been dead for the last four years, and I have chosen to give my money to a living movement, and not to the administrators of a dead Society.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.—My friend, Mr. Garrison, observed that this is no question of principle, it is merely a question of means. Certainly that is true. But, in 1853, the question of establishing the American Anti-Slavery Society was not a question of principle, it was a question of means. A man might be an Abolitionist, and work efficiently, without the principle of association. When he and his double score of coadjutors, in the city of Philadelphia, formed this Society, any man had a right to say to them then, as he says to us to-day, "This is no question of principle, gentlemen, it is only a question of means." That fact, therefore, does not place us on any different level from that which we have always occupied. A Society is merely a means.

In the remarks I made yesterday, I said the first department of this question is, "Is there anything more to do?" and the second department is, "Is this Society an efficient aid in doing that work?" I answer both these questions in the affirmative. There is something to do, and this organization gives us additional means of doing it. Of course, I agree most cordially with all my friends says about the amount that has been done. No man doubts that. He cannot paint the sky so bright that I will not rejoice at every line of his pencil. I agree to all that. It was cruel in him to inflict my speeches on you again; (laughter); and yet, I have not a word of those speeches to take back. (Applause.) I said the best thing I could at the moment. I tried to lift the public sentiment higher and higher whenever I met my fellow-citizens. Now, my complaint against the Standard is, that for two years it has not done this work. My friend says all the loyal papers talk as well as the Standard. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the community; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party. Now, my charge against the Standard, which is a thing of personal bitterness whatever it is, is that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the War Power, the Standard was—but it indicated nothing more. I went about and tried to bayonet the President into the Declaration of Emancipation. After a while, the Standard advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. The Standard stood where it was. It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution. Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—affairs, and the crippling of State Rights. (Applause.) Now, I claim that the duty of the Standard was all this while, to have kept in the van of the nation, and not to advocate only what four men out of five or seven men out of ten were ready for. That is the duty which I think devolved, and now devolves, on the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Now, one word in regard to the matter of efficiency, to which Mr. Garrison alluded. He says that since 1861, we have had "a name to live, without any life." My respected friend has been here year after year to attend meetings in this church—they did not seem very dead! For the last three years, we have held meetings in Massachusetts and meetings here, under the auspices of this Society, and they never seemed dead! I appeal to any man of this audience, accustomed to go to this outside world to which my friend refers, and ask for money, if this Society is worth nothing. Suppose he should go to a merchant converted within these two years, and say—"Sir, here is this plan for the freedom, this for the refugees, that for agitation, that for a journal"—and suppose that merchant could look up in his face and say, "Sir, what do you want my thousand dollars for? The Anti-Slavery Society has dissolved and gone home, announcing that the work is done. If that is the fact, I have no money to give. If that flag were flying, if Mr. Garrison and the other gentlemen who have studied this question for thirty years, and have given their lives to it, said there was something more to be done, you should have my money; but if this work is done, if there is no more negro and white man, why need I go out of my counting-room? I can use my money better than that. Does not such a supposition show that this Society ought not to disband while anything remains to be done? Every practical man knows that when this Society announces to the public that this work is done, it will make a difference in the pecuniary contributions of the newly-converted of 33 or 50 per cent. If this Society never had an agent again, if it never made a speech or held a meeting, it has a value beyond statement in the very fact that the just converted man sees the pressure and personal influence standing behind it, recognizing by the fact of its very existence that it can upon the nation to complete the work. These men are willing, anxious, to put their contributions into a channel where disinterested and prudent men allow that there is something still to be done. I will allow Mr. Garrison all that he claims, that we have no reports, no agents, no money, and I will place on your platform disinterested witnesses to testify, that in the cities of Philadelphia, Boston and New York, their hands would be held up in filling the treasuries of auxiliary associations by the fact of our existence, and that they would be materially crippled by the announcement through the New York press that this Society considered the cause of the Negro race on this continent finished. I say, brothers in this Anti-Slavery work, that this is the practical use of this organization, even were it what Mr. Garrison represents.

Mr. Garrison tells you Kentucky is all right—practically free—laughs at any troubles. I will read you a letter:

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In the remarks I made yesterday, I said the first department of this question is, "Is there anything more to do?" and the second department is, "Is this Society an efficient aid in doing that work?" I answer both these questions in the affirmative. There is something to do, and this organization gives us additional means of doing it. Of course, I agree most cordially with all my friends says about the amount that has been done. No man doubts that. He cannot paint the sky so bright that I will not rejoice at every line of his pencil. I agree to all that. It was cruel in him to inflict my speeches on you again; (laughter); and yet, I have not a word of those speeches to take back. (Applause.) I said the best thing I could at the moment. I tried to lift the public sentiment higher and higher whenever I met my fellow-citizens. Now, my complaint against the Standard is, that for two years it has not done this work. My friend says all the loyal papers talk as well as the Standard. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the community; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party. Now, my charge against the Standard, which is a thing of personal bitterness whatever it is, is that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the War Power, the Standard was—but it indicated nothing more. I went about and tried to bayonet the President into the Declaration of Emancipation. After a while, the Standard advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. The Standard stood where it was. It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution. Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—affairs, and the crippling of State Rights. (Applause.) Now, I claim that the duty of the Standard was all this while, to have kept in the van of the nation, and not to advocate only what four men out of five or seven men out of ten were ready for. That is the duty which I think devolved, and now devolves, on the American Anti-Slavery Society.

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Now, one word in regard to the matter of efficiency, to which Mr. Garrison alluded. He says that since 1861, we have had "a name to live, without any life." My respected friend has been here year after year to attend meetings in this church—they did not seem very dead! For the last three years, we have held meetings in Massachusetts and meetings here, under the auspices of this Society, and they never seemed dead! I appeal to any man of this audience, accustomed to go to this outside world to which my friend refers, and ask for money, if this Society is worth nothing. Suppose he should go to a merchant converted within these two years, and say—"Sir, here is this plan for the freedom, this for the refugees, that for agitation, that for a journal"—and suppose that merchant could look up in his face and say, "Sir, what do you want my thousand dollars for? The Anti-Slavery Society has dissolved and gone home, announcing that the work is done. If that is the fact, I have no money to give. If that flag were flying, if Mr. Garrison and the other gentlemen who have studied this question for thirty years, and have given their lives to it, said there was something more to be done, you should have my money; but if this work is done, if there is no more negro and white man, why need I go out of my counting-room? I can use my money better than that. Does not such a supposition show that this Society ought not to disband while anything remains to be done? Every practical man knows that when this Society announces to the public that this work is done, it will make a difference in the pecuniary contributions of the newly-converted of 33 or 50 per cent. If this Society never had an agent again, if it never made a speech or held a meeting, it has a value beyond statement in the very fact that the just converted man sees the pressure and personal influence standing behind it, recognizing by the fact of its very existence that it can upon the nation to complete the work. These men are willing, anxious, to put their contributions into a channel where disinterested and prudent men allow that there is something still to be done. I will allow Mr. Garrison all that he claims, that we have no reports, no agents, no money, and I will place on your platform disinterested witnesses to testify, that in the cities of Philadelphia, Boston and New York, their hands would be held up in filling the treasuries of auxiliary associations by the fact of our existence, and that they would be materially crippled by the announcement through the New York press that this Society considered the cause of the Negro race on this continent finished. I say, brothers in this Anti-Slavery work, that this is the practical use of this organization, even were it what Mr. Garrison represents.

Mr. Garrison tells you Kentucky is all right—practically free—laughs at any troubles. I will read you a letter:

It was only a question of means. A man might be an Abolitionist, and work efficiently, without the principle of association. When he and his double score of coadjutors, in the city of Philadelphia, formed this Society, any man had a right to say to them then, as he says to us to-day, "This is no question of principle, gentlemen, it is only a question of means." That fact, therefore, does not place us on any different level from that which we have always occupied. A Society is merely a means.

In the remarks I made yesterday, I said the first department of this question is, "Is there anything more to do?" and the second department is, "Is this Society an efficient aid in doing that work?" I answer both these questions in the affirmative. There is something to do, and this organization gives us additional means of doing it. Of course, I agree most cordially with all my friends says about the amount that has been done. No man doubts that. He cannot paint the sky so bright that I will not rejoice at every line of his pencil. I agree to all that. It was cruel in him to inflict my speeches on you again; (laughter); and yet, I have not a word of those speeches to take back. (Applause.) I said the best thing I could at the moment. I tried to lift the public sentiment higher and higher whenever I met my fellow-citizens. Now, my complaint against the Standard is, that for two years it has not done this work. My friend says all the loyal papers talk as well as the Standard. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the community; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party. Now, my charge against the Standard, which is a thing of personal bitterness whatever it is, is that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the War Power, the Standard was—but it indicated nothing more. I went about and tried to bayonet the President into the Declaration of Emancipation. After a while, the Standard advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. The Standard stood where it was. It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution. Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—affairs, and the crippling of State Rights. (Applause.) Now, I claim that the duty of the Standard was all this while, to have kept in the van of the nation, and not to advocate only what four men out of five or seven men out of ten were ready for. That is the duty which I think devolved, and now devolves, on the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ed out to shield them—and yet this society asks leave to dissolve! So much for Louisville.

My friend says Delaware is a handkerchief State. Well, I have no scales to weigh him. This Society did not organize itself to free four millions of slaves; it organized itself to free the slaves, to abolish the system; so long as any number of slaves remain, there is work; so long as the system of slavery remains, there is work. But what does Delaware say? This letter is written to me, and dated May 4, 1865. It is from one of the most earnest workers, a man high in office, tireless, indefatigable, disinterested, self-sacrificing:

"Pardon me, my dear sir, if I express the pleasure that the announcement of your action concerning the American Anti-Slavery Society has given me. 'While Delaware and Kentucky (and you might add New Jersey) remain as slave States, it is no time to disband.' If your Society has no other work, let them be kind enough to lend us a helping hand. In this State, the spirit of slavery is more determined and desperate than ever, contesting every inch of ground. You have seen enough of our leading anti-slavery men to know that they lack neither courage nor perseverance, but they are overcome by the numbers of the opposition, and disheartened by the indifference of the Administration heretofore. If our anti-slavery friends in the East would only direct their efforts to this State, I am quite sure that our next election would give us a Legislature that would ratify the Constitutional Amendment."

Shall we dissolve while a man battling on the outskirts of the question in a slave State still asks us to keep together and hold up his hands? What right have we to dissolve?

It is entirely accidental that I should be able to present to you these two letters, from the very States referred to by my friend. They beg us for their sakes not to disband. They do not think us very small; we are enlarged in their vision. At any rate, we are a banner, a principle, a symbol, a something that enheartens their courage and strengthens their hands. Why pull it down? It is not a question of the formation, it is a question of the continuance of a Society. Why should it not be continued?

I might go round the board, giving the same testimonies. In the very Standard where my friend the editor, sitting in our chair, announces that there is no work to do, I find printed the opinion of no less a man than George Bancroft. He has studied history to some advantage, and instead of saying, as my friend the editor does, "slavery is gone, there is no more work for us to do," the orator of the Loyal League says—"It is a great delusion to say slavery is dead. She is marshaling her hosts for the last dread effort." I ask you, Abolitionists, with such testimony, whether it even hangs in doubt that slavery is dead or not? But did we pledge ourselves in that Constitution that we would perhaps abolish slavery? That we would end our work when it was a matter of debate whether slavery was abolished? If I have proven nothing else, I have proven at least that it is not a settled question. The jury have not rendered their verdict, and we cannot give judgment. What right, then, have we to dissolve, under our pledges? My friend points the picture so bright, that he forgets that, in regard to the law of the question, we are yet all loose. I wait to see the announcement of the power that has the right to declare the law—why should you not wait to know that, practically, the Union power had reached the waves of the Gulf of Mexico, and there was not a slave actually in the hands of a master. When I know that the flag floats everywhere in sight of the negro, and that the Amendment is in the Constitution, then I will allow that the dissolution of this Society is an open question. Now, I object to my friend Mr. May's proposed amendment, for this reason. I want to meet this question squarely, as my friend Mr. Garrison presents it. If you are in favor of his resolution, say so—my conscience is discharged. But if you are not in favor of it, say so, and leave us the Society. When six, eight, or twelve months hence, the Secretary of State announces that the amendment is ratified, and is a part of the law, then the Executive Committee looking over the continent, noticing and appreciating that the parchment ratification is a fact, will know whether the time for dissolution has come or not. We are competent to be trusted with that question, just as our Executive Committee have been. If it is necessary, we will call you together, (if I happen to be on the Committee, and to submit it to the Abolitionists of the country. But do not tie our hands to it. Time enough for us to talk of dissolution when the enemy has sent in his notice of surrender. He has not sent it in yet. I would not really, in my heart, have this Society dissolve until South Carolina is whipped into decency and Christianity. That is a long time ahead. That is my philosophy; but I submit to the judgment of others; and it may be that, far side of that, when the law is all right, and the black man stands without a fetter, it will be your conviction that the Society should dissolve. I do not know—but I assert, that to-day, the law is just as much against you as it was on the 4th of Dec., 1853, and every lawyer will tell you so. You cannot, therefore, dissolve, consistently with your pledge. And as for the substantial system itself, it covers, to the last, a half a million of slaves to-day, whom our armies have not yet reached to free. No time, therefore, to dissolve. We keep together, because we want the country to understand that there is work to be done. We keep together to do it. The treasury is not empty. You can carry on the Standard with the money now in the hands of the Treasurer for four months. Poverty will not compel us to dissolve. There is no argument in it. (Applause.) We stand here to-day with reputation and funds and voices and hands to put slavery thirty fathoms deeper than plummet ever sounded; and while we have voices, and the treasury has funds, and it is possible to keep that flag which means thirty-five years of experience, flying over the American Anti-Slavery Society, let us speak. My friend says it is presumption, it is self-conceit. I do not read it so. There is a false humility; and he will let me say, that he himself, having given life and intellect to this question, does not stand like the lordliest statesmen of this country who have been converted to it within the last two or three years. They are his pupils, and ought to be, and it is not presumption in him to say to them, "Gentlemen, I understand this subject better than you do." My old law professor at college used to say, "Gentlemen, it is not conceit for me, who have studied law for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four for twenty years, to say 'I know law better than you do.' I hold that it is neither presumption nor self-conceit for a body of men, who for twenty-five years have given to this question all the intellect God ever gave them, to say to the country, 'We are competent to advise and counsel you on a question of this magnitude, when the great issue of its settlement is in debate.' I repudiate the idea of conceit or presumption. We do not stand fused and melted into the general public. Our friend, Miss Dickinson, said truthfully—and she referred to the same honest, disinterested, intelligent and patriotic individual that I did in my yesterday's speech (Judge Bond, of Md.), that, honored as he is, he does not do for his labors in the State of Maryland, patriotic and devoted as he has been, he knows that he is not a liberty, as a wise and prudent man, to stand before his country, and claim what this Society claims to-day. Now, it is out of that kind of material that these new Societies are, very properly, constructed. But we are not to go down and put ourselves into their chains. The Senator of Massachusetts stood here this morning. The last time I met him on this slavery question was in the city of Washington, in consultation with some twenty or thirty members of the House and Senate, and this very question of suffrage was the one in debate; and the vast majority of gentlemen there said with their own lips, 'We do not accept this idea of suffrage. It is an idle abstraction; it is a sentimental impossibility. Nobody can venture before this community to stand upon it.' We stood alone—myself and a friend whom I have in my eye; a couple of men, without office, with no power, except that which the anti-slavery body behind them gave to them. But to-day assemble those same men, in the

same chamber, and four fifths of them will say, as Henry Wilson did this morning, "We go for giving every man the ballot." (Applause.) What converted them? I do not say we did, but I say we did our share towards it. I say we were a large bill in the river that bears their gallant bark on to-day; that river is not yet so torrid that it can afford to spare the smallest rill; and I am for keeping all the sluices, even our own little channel open, to swell the flood on which the State shall float into a safe harbor.

I tell you, Abolitionists, that, although I have been quoted as reflecting upon the Vice President, I believe in him. Ah! it is God's providence that gives us his right hand on the helm of government to-day. (Applause.) I think that, amid the many gracious mercies bestowed by the Divine hand on our late President, Abraham Lincoln, the hour of his death was the greatest. "Felix non vultum tantum claritate et etiam opportunitate moris."—"Happy in the moment of his death as in the lustre of his life"—as the Roman said, for he died at that exact moment when all the qualities with which God had gifted him had been exhausted in the service of the nation. We needed a sterner hand in these opening hours; we needed a brain and a heart fitted and inspired by the domestic peril and bitter experience for the dread responsibilities to which this crisis opens the way. I have never expressed a doubt with regard to President Johnson. I believe in him. I believe he means suffrage. But I believe that, if you were to ask him to-day, here on this platform, "Sir, can we do anything by keeping together, or shall we separate and melt into the general public?" he would say, with my correspondent from Delaware, and my correspondent from Kentucky, "For God's sake, hang together, and hold my hands up!" (Applause.) He knows that the Administration has none so great strength, and that if we give him no aid, he cannot afford to lose it. But I will not prolong my remarks. I hold here another letter, from Syracuse, in this State, signed by Charles D. B. Mills, an efficient and devoted friend for twenty years—too long to be read at this hour—in which he repeats, with the same earnestness of expression, the hope that this Society will not dissolve, but will go on until, in his view, the work to which we pledged ourselves is accomplished.

MARY GREW—I rise so say that, if the Society is ready now to have this question taken, I am ready to have it taken; but if the discussion is to proceed, I would like to say a few words.

Mr. GARRISON moved that the question be taken on the resolution offered by Mr. May as a substitute for his own, and the question having been put, the substitute was declared lost.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was voted that the question on his resolution be taken by Yeas and Nays.

OLIVER JOHNSON, from the Committee on the Roll, reported a list of members, and it was accepted, with the understanding that further names might be subsequently added.

Mr. GARRISON then read his resolution, and the roll was called, with the following result: Yeas, 48; Nays, 118. So the resolution was rejected. The announcement of the result was received with loud and long applause.

Mr. GARRISON then offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That, in the removal, by death, since the last meeting of this Society, of THOMAS WHITSON, of Pennsylvania, one of the signers of the Anti-Slavery Declaration of Sentiments in 1833, the cause of the bondman has lost an upright, faithful, true-hearted and unflinching supporter as ever gave us his hand, his heart, and his benefit; and that this Society one of its earliest, most beloved, and most appreciated members; and we shall ever cherish in our memories his rare worth and sterling integrity.

Resolved, That in the death of Rev. Samuel Aaron, of New Jersey, and of the Hon. Nathaniel B. Borden, of Massachusetts, the anti-slavery cause has also lost two of its long-tried and devoted friends—the former having been among its most eloquent, intrepid and powerful advocates, and the latter distinguished for his generous hospitality and noble uprightness of character.

The following resolution, submitted by Oliver Johnson, was also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are hereby tendered to Mr. Sigismund Lassar, organist, and to each member of the Choir, whose appropriate and excellent musical performances contributed so much to the interest and impressiveness of the Anniversary meeting on Tuesday morning.

GEORGE THOMPSON—I would venture to bring to the notice of the meeting two deaths which have recently occurred on the outside of the water, of men who, for their liberal contributions in England, with special reference to this country, and for their incessant labors, by their voices and their presses, to the very last hours of their lives, in the cause of Emancipation and Union on these shores, deserve some tribute at your hands at this time. It will be a satisfaction to your friends in England to know that their virtue and worth are recognized by this assembly. I am not prepared with any formal resolutions, and I will simply move, that you record the expression of your deep regret at the death, during the last year, of Samuel Lucas, Esq., the principal proprietor, from the commencement of the London Star newspaper, and of Washington Wilks, Esq., its principal editor; I myself being able to testify, and there are others present, I believe, who can confirm what I say, that the cause of this country and of human rights

COLORADO ENTERTAINMENT. A most pleasant and interesting entertainment was given at the Temple Theatre, on Friday evening, the presence of a large audience, principally young ladies and gentlemen, who had occasion to applaud frequently and warmly. It was the annual entertainment of the 12th Baptist Sabbath School, and was most successful. There was a programme of twenty-six pieces, recitations, music, in solo, quartettes, and choruses, and it was charming. About forty girls and boys, and young men and women, were on the platform, and the programme was well attired. A solo and quartette by Misses Fannie and G. H. Washington, and Mr. W. Smith, and O. Ruffin. "Brother, tell me of the battle," was enthusiastically received. The solo and quartette by Misses Fannie Washington, the music teacher, presided at the piano. The preliminary prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Stowe.

POLITICAL. It is stated that Vallandigham has written a letter to the Young Men's Democratic Association of Lancaster, Pa., in which he acknowledges his errors in the rebel and philistine cause, and declares that the Union saved, says no reason why the Democrats should not give a cordial support to President Johnson, and declares that, with freedom, the South will become more populous, prosperous and powerful than any other section.

THE YELLOW FEVER CONSPIRACY. Blackburn, the yellow fever conspirator, it seems, set out on his mission as a breeder of pestilence by volunteering his services gratuitously to the British Admiralty during the prevalence of the fever at Alexandria. This reckless laborer was highly commended by Vice Admiral Labouchere. A reward of £100 sterling was tendered to him by the Lords of the Admiralty, and he appears to have enjoyed the repute of a man supreme in the art of spreading the yellow fever.

EXPLOSION OF THE ORDNANCE DEPOT AND MAGAZINE. FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS BURIED IN THE RUINS. CHICAGO, Ill., May 23. *The Tribune's* New Orleans dispatches of the 23rd state that the Ordnance Depot and Magazine exploded at Memphis, Tenn., yesterday. The shock was terrific. The city shook to its very foundations. Eight squares of buildings were destroyed. Five hundred persons were buried in the ruins. Loss \$5,000,000. Origin of the explosion not yet ascertained.

Dr. Fernelius calls disease an affection of the body contrary to nature: a perturbation of its habits: a derangement of its courses. What disease is, sometimes he explains on the platform, and then he discloses—known—their origin, action, and even their antidotes. Whoever has discovered an actual remedy for one disease has done something for his race. Doct. Ayer has done more, for he medicates the human system with a remedy that cures all the most dangerous disorders. We rarely speak on medical subjects, preferring to leave them to physicians, who understand them better. But such effects as are seen in our midst, on affections of the blood, call for the relief of a physician. We have complaints by his Sarsaparilla, and on the several complaints they know cure by Ayer's Pills, should not be ignored.—[Keokuk, (Iowa) Journal.]

PLEDGES.

Made to the American Anti-Slavery Society, Evening of May 12th, 1855, *Copied Institute.*

Ludlow	\$200	John Stacy	5.00
L. D. Yates	5.00	I. S. Tompkins	1.00
J. A. C. Place	5.00	I. S. Schultz	100.00
H. L. Mack	25.00	Mrs. M. C. Severance	10.00
Wm. P. H. Smith	5.00	W. Ferguson	10.00
A. C. Swain	5.00	W. M. Hunt	25.00
H. Beeny Cass	5.00	C. Griffith	5.00
Miss Alexander	1.00	Miss Anna Dickinson	100.00
M. H. Anderson	1.00	Miss Anna Dickinson	100.00
L. Francis	25.00	J. L. Stearns	100.00
J. Williams	5.00	John Williams	5.00
Total of Pledges May 12th, 11 1/2		Total	\$881.41

Additional pledges—made by Mrs. A. K. Foster, Sarvillian Haley, New York (in addition to first pledge, see report of Finance Committee), \$5.00
Sarah J. Nowell, Cambridgeport, Mass., 25.00
Miss Mary F. Richmond, per her pledge, 30.00
Miss G. E. Watson, 1.00

THE THIRTEENTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will be held at LONGWOOD (near Hamorton), Chester Co., Pa., commencing at 11 o'clock, A. M., on Fifth day, (Thursday), the 8th of December, (June), 1865, and continuing, probably, three days.

OLIVER JOHNSON, RACHEL VILSON,
ANNIE M. STANBACH, EUSEBIUS BARNARD,
BENJAMIN C. BAGDON, MARY ANN FULTON,
SUSANNA F. CHAMBERS, ALFRED H. LOVE,
THEODORE TILTON, LUCRETIA LATHAM,
ANNIE E. WEST, WILLIAM COX,
CHARLES D. DRYGAL, JESSE K. SMITH,
ANNA E. DICKINSON, WILLIAM LEWIS.

Among those whose presence is confidently anticipated are George Thompson of England, William Lloyd Garrison, and Aaron M. Powell.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 2d, 3d and 4th days of June next.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AARON M. POWELL, GILES B. STEEDING, GEO. W. TAYLOR, and other gifted speakers from abroad, will be present to participate, and lend interest to the occasion.

Communications for the meeting should be addressed to PARKER B. DEAN, Waterloo, N. Y.

DIED.—In Brooklyn, Ct., May 24, Mr. PHILIP SCARBOROUGH, aged 71.

Mr. Scarborough was one of the earliest Abolitionists, ever true, clear-sighted, and deeply interested in the triumph of the Anti-Slavery cause. As a citizen, he was much respected for his solid worth and exemplary life. His friendship we prized, and warmly reciprocated. So one by one, with increasing rapidity, the primitive friends of the fettered bondmen are gathering to their final rest, rejoicing that "Jehovah has triumphed—his people are free!"—[Ed. Lab.

THEODORE PARKER'S "LIFE THOUGHTS."

HIS MOST POPULAR WORK?

"Lessons from the World of Matter and the World of Man."

BY THEODORE PARKER.

Selected from Notes of Unpublished Sermons, by BRUCE LEIGHTON.

Just published—424 pages, tinted paper and illustrated title, with portrait—AN ELEGANT OCTAVO VOLUME.

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May 19. 54

Dr. Ayer's Cathartic Pills

ARE the most perfect purgative which we are able to produce, or which we think has ever been produced by man. Their effects have abundantly shown to the community how much they excel the ordinary medicines used to relieve the bowels. They are safe, powerful to cure. Their penetrating properties stimulate the vital activities of the body, remove the obstructions of the organs, purify the blood, and expel disease. They purge out the foul humors that breed and grow distemper, stimulate sluggish or disordered organs into their natural action, and impart a healthy tone, with strength to the whole system. They do not do injury, but they remove all complaints of every kind, both formidable and venereal diseases. While they produce powerful effects, they are, at the same time, in diminished doses, the safest and best physic that can be employed for children. Being sugar-coated, they are pleasant to take; and, being purely vegetable, are free from any risk of harm. Cures have been effected in which other cathartics failed. They are not forbidden by men of such exalted position and character as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Many eminent clergymen and physicians have lent their names to carry to the public the reliability of our remedy. While others have sought us the assurance of their conviction that our Preparations contribute immensely to the relief of our afflicted, suffering fellow-men.

The Agent below named is pleased to furnish gratis our American Almanac, containing directions for the use and certificates of their cures, of the following complaints:—Constipation, Biliousness, Headache, Dropsy, Heartburn, Headache arising from foul stomach, Nausea, Indigestion, Morbid Urining of the Bowels and pain arising from the bowels, Nervousness, Rheumatism, Dropsy, which require an evacuant, Loss of Appetite, all diseases which require a cathartic. They also relieve the bowels, purifying the blood and stimulating the system, cure many complaints which it would not be supposed they could reach, such as the various diseases of the Liver and Nervous System, Irritability, Derangements of the Liver and Gall Bladder, Gout, and other kindred complaints arising from a low state of the system, and a general debility of the system.

Do not be put off by unprincipled dealers with other preparations which they make no profit on. Demand AYER'S, and take no others. The sign want the best aid there is for them, and they will be supplied.

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